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FROM: MOSCOW

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 3052, JUNE 4, 5 PM

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 3052, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 241,
PARIS 352, BONN 206

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I AM INCLINED BELIEVE SOVIET POLICY IS UNDERGOING HIGH
LEVEL REVIEW AND THAT DIRECTION OF CHANGES IF ANY MAY
NOT IMMEDIATELY BE EVIDENT. FOR PRESENT IT SEEMS CLEAR
ATTEMPTS WILL BE MADE TO DISCREDIT US LEADERSHIP FOR
FREE WORLD, TO PROBE FOR WEAK SPOTS IN OUR ALLIANCES
AND TO NEUTRALIZE OR ELIMINATE OUR BASES ABROAD. THIS
WILL CERTAINLY BE CONTINUED UNTIL TRIAL OF POWERS AND
PROBABLY UNTIL AFTER GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND OUR ELECTIONS.
I WOULD DOUBT THAT KHRUSHCHEV WILL CONTINUE HIS STRONG
PERSONAL ATTACKS UPON PRESIDENT ONCE REACTION OF WORLD
OPINION BECOMES EVIDENT. IN ANY EVENT THE CAMPAIGN
AGAINST US POLICY IN GENERAL WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT IF
RPT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTINUE CULTURAL EXCHANGES
AND OTHER CONTACTS ON THEIR FORMER BASIS AND THERE
WOULD SEEM TO BE SOME DANGER THAT SOVIET GOVT WILL DRIFT
INTO HARDER POLICY THAN THEY PERHAPS INTEND. THERE IS
DISCERNABLE TREND TOWARD MORE EMPHASIS ON COMMUNISM
VERSUS CAPITALISM THAN ON STRAIGHT GOVT TO GOVT PROBLEMS.
THIS COULD HAVE FAR-REACHING REPERCUSSIONS IF CONTINUED.
IN IRAQ, UAR AND INDONESIA IN PARTICULAR KHRUSHCHEV
HAS BEEN COLLABORATING WITH GOVTS AT EXPENSE OF LOCAL COMMUNIST
PARTIES. IF, AS IS INDICATED BY SOME OF HIS REMARKS
AND HIS PROJECTED TRIP TO CUBA, KHRUSHCHEV NOW INTENDS
TO OPENLY AND ACTIVELY STIR UP REVOLT HE WILL PROBABLY

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ALARM THOSE GOVTS THAT HAVE BEEN COLLABORATING WITH HIM.

WITH RESPECT TO GERMANY IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IN ANNOUNCING POSTPONEMENT OF SOLUTION BERLIN PROBLEM FOR 6-8 MONTHS OR UNTIL AFTER NEXT SUMMIT MEETING, KHRUSHCHEV HAS LEFT HIMSELF AN OUT BY STATING THIS WAS IN ABSENCE OF ANY ACTION ON PART OF WEST TO CHANGE EXISTING SITUATION. I DO NOT BELIEVE KHRUSHCHEV WANTS TO MAKE SEPARATE TREATY IN ABSENCE OF SOME SOLUTION TO BERLIN PROBLEM SINCE BY SO DOING HE WOULD GIVE ULBRICHT POSSIBILITY OF INVOLVING SOVIET UNION IN CONFLICT WITH US AND I BELIEVE HE PREFERS TO PLAY HIS OWN CARDS. NEVERTHELESS KHRUSHCHEV IS HEAVILY COMMITTED TO ACTION ON GERMAN PROBLEM AND IS IN NEED OF A SUCCESS AND I DO NOT THINK WE CAN ENTIRELY EXCLUDE EARLIER ACTION ON SEPARATE TREATY IF HE SHOULD FEEL HIS HOLD ON LEADERSHIP SLIPPING ALTHOUGH SOME RISKY ACTION IN ANOTHER PART OF WORLD SUCH AS SOUTHEAST ASIA WOULD SEEM MORE LIKELY. I SUSPECT THAT IN DELAYING SOLUTION BERLIN PROBLEM KHRUSHCHEV PROBABLY HAS MORE IN MIND WAITING FOR DISAPPEARANCE OF ADENAUER FROM SCENE RATHER THAN FOR ADVENT OF NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION.

WE HAVE LITTLE BASIS ON WHICH TO JUDGE WHAT ATTITUDE OF OTHER MEMBERS OF PRESIDUM OR CENTRAL COMMITTEE WOULD BE ON BASIC CHANGE OF POLICY BUT I FEEL QUITE SURE THAT ANY CHANGE TOWARD HARD LINE AND IN PARTICULAR POLICY OF HOSTILITY TOWARD US RPT US WILL BE UNPOPULAR WITH SOVIET PUBLIC. THERE IS OF COURSE ALWAYS POSSIBILITY THAT KHRUSHCHEV'S COLLEAGUES OR CENTRAL COMMITTEE COULD DECIDE HE HAS BECOME LIABILITY AND REMOVE HIM. ONE UNKNOWN FACTOR OF KEY IMPORTANCE IS BY WHOM AND HOW KGB RPT KGB ARE CONTROLLED BUT MY GUESS IS THAT THEY ARE SUBJECT TO CONTROL OF COMMITTEE AND NOT KHRUSHCHEV ALONE.

WHILE I DO NOT THINK KHRUSHCHEV'S COLLEAGUES CAN BE PLEASED WITH HIS RECENT PERFORMANCE I WOULD DOUBT THAT EITHER HIS POLICIES OR HIS CONDUCT OF THEM HAVE YET REACHED POINT WHERE AN ATTEMPT TO REMOVE HIM IS LIKELY EVEN IF IT IS POSSIBLE, THE MORE SO AS IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DO SO AT THIS TIME WITHOUT WEAKENING SOVIET UNION'S POSITION IN GENERAL AND AS LEADER OF COMMUNIST BLOC IN PARTICULAR.

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-3- 3052, JUNE 4, 5 PM, FROM MOSCOW

IF BASIC POLICY CHANGE IS CONTEMPLATED, A BLOC MEETING AS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED WOULD BE LOGICAL BUT IN MY OPINION UNLIKELY. INDONESIAN AMB INFORMED ME YESTERDAY THAT IN REPLY HIS QUESTION CHINESE AMB HAD TOLD HIM MAO-TSE TUNG WAS NOT NOW PLANNING VISIT TO MOSCOW. SHOULD KHRUSHEV BE REMOVED IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT WITH ANY CONFIDENCE WHO WOULD SUCCEED HIM AND MUCH WOULD DEPEND UPON CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS REMOVAL. IN EVENT HIS DEATH WOULD SEEM LIKELY KOZLOV AND BREZHNEV MIGHT DIVIDE PARTY AND GOVT BETWEEN THEM BUT IN EVENT HIS REMOVAL BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE KOZLOV IN PARTICULAR IS SO CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH HIM THAT HE AT LEAST WOULD PROBABLY ALSO BE ELIMINATED. FACT THAT KHRUSHCHEV COULD DEAL WITH SUCH IMPORTANT MATTERS AS HE DID YESTERDAY AT A PRESS CONFERENCE RATHER THAN THROUGH CAREFULLY DRAFTED GOVT STATEMENT WOULD APPEAR INDICATE HE IS STILL VERY MUCH IN CONTROL. HOWEVER I AM INCLINED TO SHORTEN MY ESTIMATE OF KHRUSHCHEV'S PROBABLE TENURE OF OFFICE FROM 4-5 YEARS TO 1 OR 2.

THOMPSON



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